

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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Republicans to Map Policies for Future

Party Sharply Divided over Fundamental Principles and Immediate Objectives

ROOSEVELT STAND STUDIED

Differences Within Both Parties Add to Importance of Coming Congressional Elections

The Policy Committee of the Republican party is meeting today to talk over the party program and to agree, if possible, upon the measures and the principles the Republicans will advocate as they enter the congressional campaign of 1938. As the Republicans meet to determine the ground upon which they shall stand, the contest for the control of the next Congress may be said to be under way. The election itself is, of course, eight months away, but within a few weeks the campaign will be in full swing.

The meeting of the Republican Committee was preceded by several important addresses by prominent Republicans. Senator Vandenberg, of Michigan, who is commonly regarded as the outstanding candidate for the presidential nomination in 1940, spoke on Lincoln's birthday. So did Governor Aiken of Vermont. A while before that, Glenn Frank himself had defined the issues as he saw them. The nature of the Republican attack upon the administration is being defined.

Vandenberg Position

The most interesting of these early addresses in the congressional campaign was that of Senator Vandenberg. It was doubly interesting, first, because of the senator's position as a possible nominee for the presidency, and second, because of his announced willingness to give up the name of the Republican party and unite with dissatisfied Democrats in forming a new party whose purpose it shall be to drive the New Deal from power. In the two weeks that have passed since the Vandenberg address, Republicans everywhere have been thinking about this statement which he made:

"... revolutionary movements, at home quite as much as abroad, have upset and all but obliterated normal, habitual partisan alignments during the last few years, and have precipitated another crisis upon us that transcends our familiar partisan divisions. It is more than a crisis in politics and economics. It is a crisis in character—the character of our free institutions; the character of our heretofore self-reliant people.

"I would be less than grateful for the patriotism of many a sound Jeffersonian Democrat if I did not acknowledge the tremendous contribution which many of them are making to the united contest against American disintegration. I would be less than realistic if I did not, as a result, anticipate a deeply conscientious realignment of our American political forces. And I would be less than candid if I did not bluntly say, for myself, that my attitude toward Republicanism paraphrases the attitude of the superb and deathless Lincoln speaking upon another matter in his famous letter to Horace Greeley in the dark days in 1862.

"If I could serve the American system without altering the Republican identity, I would do it; if I could save it by entirely altering this identity, I would do it; if I

(Concluded on page 8)



OSTERREICHISCHE VERKEHRWERBUNG
DOWN THE DANUBE LIES NAZI GERMANY'S IMPERIAL WAY

A Matter of Interest

Students often excuse poor performance on the ground that the work is not interesting. In certain cases such a position may be justified. It may happen that a course or a book or an assignment is so foreign to the interests of a student that it is almost impossible for him to give it his attention. The fallacy in most such excuses lies, however, in the fact that interests are assumed to be fixed and unchangeable. One may speak as if his interests were imposed upon him by some outside force and that he can do nothing about it. He may assume that he has no responsibility for his interests. If a certain activity interests him, he must follow it. If another activity does not interest him, he must turn away from it. The whole thing is beyond his control.

Such a line of reasoning calls for a little thought and study. Isn't it possible for one to determine to a large extent what his interests shall be? Suppose, for example, that a boy who has never heard of baseball watches a game. He knows nothing of the rules. The whole thing seems meaningless to him. He is not interested. He realizes, however, that the boys with whom he will associate play ball and that if he is to have a normal life in the neighborhood, he, too, must play. So he takes charge of the situation. He doesn't sit back and say, "I'm not interested." He decides to pursue the activity which will benefit him most. He learns the rules. He engages in practice. He acquires skill. The game then has some meaning for him. He enjoys the exercise of skill. He feels a sense of pleasure as he masters the fine points of the game. As he plays, he experiences excitement and satisfaction. The game brings zest to life. He finds it interesting.

One who takes up a book on an unfamiliar subject or who enters a class which is dealing with material strange to him is in a position similar to that of the boy who knows nothing of baseball. And he can conquer the situation as surely as the baseball player does. If he decides that it would be profitable to him to master the subject, he may enter upon the work by act of will. He learns the rules, becomes familiar with the subject, grows in skill. And then a strange thing happens; he finds that the work is interesting. One who pursues only those activities which attract him at first sight is a drifter. He is by no means the architect of his fortunes. The individual who is determined to mold his own destiny must assume some responsibility for his interests.

Europe Stunned By Nazis' Austrian Coup

Hitler's Speech Before German Reichstag Fails to Reassure Other Nations

BRITISH CABINET IS SPLIT

Foreign Secretary Eden Resigns as Majority of Cabinet Favors Policy of Conciliation

Of all the amazing developments that have taken place in postwar Europe, none is likely to have more far-reaching consequences than those which have occurred since the meeting of Chancellors Hitler and Schuschnigg. The conference between the two statesmen truly marks the beginning of a new chapter in European history—a chapter the full import of which no one dares to predict. The capitals of the world have not yet recovered from the shock they received when they heard of the outcome of this historic meeting. The heads of the European governments are stunned and bewildered, wondering what they should do and fearful of what may happen next. Hitler's speech before the Reichstag did not serve to lessen their anxiety.

Hitler's latest accomplishment is by far the most spectacular and most momentous of his five-year career as head of the German government. In substance, if not in form, the Versailles Treaty has been torn to shreds. While on the surface the independence of Austria may still be preserved, it is only a theoretical independence. To all practical purposes, Austria has become a German province. The swastika, emblem of the Nazis, today flies over Vienna as truly as it flies over Berlin. Austrian Nazis have been placed in the key positions of the Schuschnigg cabinet, and henceforth the government in Vienna will be a puppet of Berlin.

A Common Reich

All this is in accordance with long-cherished dreams and ambitions of the German Nazis. Hitler's autobiography, "My Battle," the bible of National Socialism, clearly states this basic policy. "German Austria must return to the great German motherland," wrote Hitler 14 years ago while languishing in prison, dreaming of a future when he would rule Germany, "and not for economic reasons. No, no: this must take place even if economically the union were unimportant or positively harmful. Common blood belongs to a common Reich."

The most amazing feature about the latest Nazi victory is that it was accomplished with such ease. For years it had been predicted that should Germany move to bring Austria under its political wing, the armies of Europe would start marching and the spark of the second world war would be set off. Less than four years ago, when the Austrian Nazis themselves sought to gain control of the government in Vienna, some 200,000 Italian soldiers were whisked to the Austrian border to save the nation's independence. Now, Germany openly destroys Austrian independence and not a finger is turned to stop her. Mussolini is off skiing and fails to do anything to help Austria. The British ambassador in Berlin is told to inform the German government that Great Britain is always "interested in Austrian questions." France takes a somewhat stronger stand. Her minister in Vienna declares that "France still considers Austrian independence one



IMPROVING HIS BITE
ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

of the essentials to the European balance of power," and her ambassador in Berlin tells the German foreign minister of France's "painful surprise" at the turn of events. But no one was willing to give concrete aid to the helpless Austrians.

The full story of how Hitler triumphed not only over the Austrian chancellor but over all the statesmen of Europe will probably never be told in full. The mystery and secrecy surrounding the visit of Schuschnigg to Hitler's Bavarian retreat make it impossible to reconstruct the events as they actually occurred. The most reliable reports, however, have it that Schuschnigg walked into a veritable lion's den when he sped to Germany to visit Hitler. The German dictator bluntly told him, so the story goes, that he must comply with the terms laid down or German armies would march against Austria. In fact, the armies were already prepared to act in the event of a refusal on the part of Schuschnigg.

G. E. R. Gedy, able Vienna correspondent of the New York Times, describes the performance as "unique in the world's history." "Surely," he continues, "it has never happened before that the head of one independent state has been invited by another to the latter's country house for a 'friendly conversation' designed to improve relations between the two states and there has been confronted not merely with a threat of invasion, but with the very generals assigned to carry it out."

Importance of Austria

But why should Austria be so important to Germany's plans? Is it because Austria offers markets for German goods or offers the raw materials which Germany sorely needs and which are lacking at home? Hardly. Austria is a poor country which has been practically bankrupt ever since the close of the World War. Her six million people can hardly be expected to furnish a lucrative market for German goods, and she has few of the raw materials the lack of which Germany so acutely feels. While it may be expected that a customs union will be formed between the two countries as a result of the recent developments, the effects of such a step would not have great economic effects upon Germany.

The principal reason for Germany's ambitions in Austria is purely strategic. As Dorothy Thompson, writing in the New York Herald-Tribune, points out: Austria "is the key to the whole of Central Europe. Czechoslovakia is now surrounded. The wheat fields of Hungary and the oil fields of Rumania are now open. Not one of them will be able to stand the pressure of German domination. One of them, and one only, might fight: Czechoslovakia. And that would mean: either another Spain, or immediately a world war."

The significance of the Austrian coup lies, therefore, not so much in the fact of the im-

mediate loss of Austrian independence but in the possible future developments. The key to Hitler's foreign policy, as expressed in his autobiography and in his addresses, is a constant push eastward, the *Drang Nach Osten*, as it is called in German. Hitler has assured France and England time and again (repeated again last week in his address to the German Reichstag) that Germany has no territorial ambitions in the west. She has accepted as final her western border and has been willing to sign agreements promising not to alter it.

Growing Influence

But Germany has never accepted as final her eastern border, drawn at the close of the World War. Step by step she has attempted to pave the way for an alteration of the eastern frontier. She has consistently refused to sign agreements which would fix permanently the limit of her territory in that region. Since Hitler came to power five years ago, he has attempted—and succeeded to a large degree—to build up German power and influence in Central and Eastern Europe. He is attempting to drive a wedge down through the Balkans to the Black Sea. While this policy has met with a great deal of success elsewhere, its most tangible and important results have been in Austria.

There are several indications that the Austrian episode is but the initial step in a much more ambitious program of German expansion. Franz von Papen, retiring German ambassador to Austria, who is credited with having had no small part in engineering the Austrian affair, frankly stated a few days ago that the Austrian accord was but the first step toward a "commonwealth of nations in middle Europe," the dominating figure of which would be Germany. He frankly said that Germany would seek to reach agreements, similar to that with Austria, with the nations which were carved out of the old Austro-Hungarian empire. Should such a plan be put into effect, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia would be affected.

And Hitler's speech to the Reichstag last week gave what many have interpreted as a clue to Germany's future plans. Delivered a few days after the Austrian surrender, the address presaged the continuation of a strong foreign policy. In mentioning the Austrian situation, Hitler had nothing to say about the independence of that nation, commenting merely upon the extremely friendly relations which had been established between the two countries. He also spoke of the friendly relations which

were being cemented with Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, "and other countries." More significant still, he hinted broadly in his address that the Reich would protect Germans in whatever country they might be.

Does all this imply that Germany is ready to give concrete effect to the principle stated in the famous autobiography that "common blood belongs to a common Reich"? Naturally, there is widespread fear that this is precisely what Hitler is planning to do and that he will next strike out against Czechoslovakia, the while seeking to strengthen himself throughout Central Europe and the Balkans. There can be no doubt that the position of Czechoslovakia has been rendered far more vulnerable as a result of the Austrian coup. A large section of that country is tightly surrounded by Austria and Germany. Moreover, Germany has what she considers a legitimate excuse for seeking to spread her influence in that country. Of a population of some 15,000,000, Czechoslovakia has more than 3,000,000 Germans. They live near the German frontier and a strong Nazi movement, encouraged and aided by the Nazis in Germany, has been established among them. Friction between the German minority and the Czechoslovak government has been greatly intensified during recent months. The probable effect of the Austrian capture upon Czechoslovakia will undoubtedly be to encourage the Nazis in that country to become more emboldened in their demands for union with a "greater Reich."

Modern Aggression

Should Germany now go forward attempting to give effect to her dreams of expansion in Eastern Europe, she will probably use the technique which worked so successfully in Austria. She will undoubtedly send no armies into the country, unless forced to do so, but will lend support to internal movements sympathetic to her objectives. This technique has been called a new form of aggression and the fascist states have used it with conspicuous success during the last few years. It is described as follows by Walter Lippmann in a syndicated column:

Modern wars of aggression do not start with an armed invasion of the frontier or with an air raid. They start with rebellion and treason within the territory of the prospective victim. Whether the rebellion and treason are actually financed and directed from the aggressor state is relatively unimportant. What is important is that the rebel leaders seek to achieve power for themselves by delivering their own country to the aggressor.

This delivery can be effected without destroying the outward forms and symbols of independence, simply by setting up a regime which is in sympathy with the conqueror, is subservient to him and is dependent upon him for its survival.

This form of aggression the democratic nations of Europe have been unable, or unwilling, to resist. Their words against Ger-

many and Italy for intervening in the Spanish war have been cavalierly brushed aside. Now, it seems inconceivable that Germany should stage her latest play in Austria with scarcely a murmur from either England or France, both of which have a vital interest in Austria and have gone to great lengths in the past to prevent the execution of less drastic plans of co-operation between the two German-speaking powers. Why has their attitude changed?

British Cabinet

The answer to this moot question is far from clear. It is well known that the British cabinet is split wide open over the Austrian question. Foreign Secretary Eden resigned because of the clash he had had with other members of the cabinet. Mr. Eden had favored a strong policy toward Germany with respect to the Austrian question, whereas a majority of the cabinet had insisted upon compromise. Led by Prime Minister Chamberlain, the majority is anxious to prevent the European cauldron from boiling over, even if the price involves great sacrifices on the part of Great Britain.

It is Britain's desire to come to terms with Italy and Germany, so it appears, that accounts for her acceptance of the Austrian



VIENNA—THE CAPITAL

situation. Britain is willing to sacrifice Austria to the Germans, if by so doing she can come to terms with Germany which will insure peace. She is at present angling for an agreement with Italy which will settle the feud which has disturbed the relations of the two countries for the last two and a half years. If such an accord can be reached, the Rome-Berlin axis may be weakened. In fact, England seems more anxious to achieve that result than to prevent such immediate setbacks to her influence in Europe as the surrender of Austria to Germany.

As this article goes to press the whole situation is awaiting clarification—which will come from London rather than from Berlin, Paris, or Vienna. The resignation of Foreign Secretary Eden may well unleash a sequence of events which will be far reaching in their effects on the future of Europe. The great question of the hour is: What course will Britain take, and how far will she go?



SALZBURG—FAMOUS CULTURAL CENTER OF AUSTRIA

The summer music festivals held annually in this city are world renowned. But leading artists, including Arturo Toscanini, have declared that they will not attend next summer because of their opposition to fascism.

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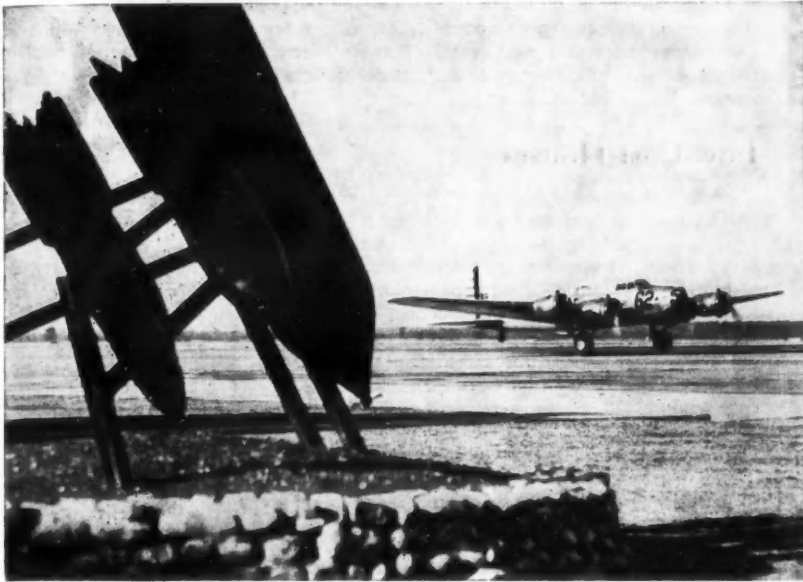
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AROUND THE WORLD



WIDE WORLD

AN INSTRUMENT OF WAR STARTS ON A MISSION OF FRIENDSHIP
One of the U. S. Army's "flying fortresses," designed to carry out missions of destruction and death symbolized by the mounted bombs at the left, starts on the flight to Buenos Aires which six of these mightiest of war planes made to take part in the inauguration of President Ortiz of Argentina.

Argentina: Diplomatic circles in Buenos Aires, the Argentine capital, are reported to be furthering a proposal for the creation of an American league of nations. Still in its formative stages, the plan would call for a comprehensive alliance whereby the United States would cooperate with Latin American powers in pooling their military and naval resources to oppose European or Asiatic aggression in any country in the Western Hemisphere.

The proposal is not entirely new. Such measures as would be provided for in an inter-American alliance were partly embodied in an agreement at the Buenos Aires peace conference in December 1936. But the agreement, vague in its terms, remained until now a pious hope rather than a program of action. That it should now be revived, and in a form calling for military cooperation, may be attributed to recent European developments. Most of the Latin American states are members of the League of Nations. But their faith in the Geneva body has been severely shaken of late. Ethiopia is now an outpost of the Italian empire; China is by way of being "pacified" by Tokio; and Austria has now fallen into Hitler's expanding apple cart. Successively, in each of these aggressive incidents, the voice of the League has grown weaker. Latin America, in brief, has come to regard the League as a bankrupt body from which it would be futile to expect help.

In estimating the chances of success for an inter-American federation, observers are quick to point out evidence of increasingly

cordial relations between the United States and its neighbors to the south. The recent good-will flight of American army aviators to Buenos Aires to attend the inauguration of Roberto Ortiz as president of Argentina; the sharp increase in American tourist travel to South America; the decision of the Maritime Commission to improve the regular trade routes between the United States and South America; the plans now being formulated in Brazil to expand her trade with our own country—these things lead to the belief that the proposal for an inter-American league will receive favorable consideration.

Iran: There are several countries in the Near East where dictators of the modern school have risen to supreme power over the state. The most conspicuous example is that of Turkey, which has made notable strides under Mustafa Kemal. Less publicity has been given to the development of Iran, formerly known as Persia, but here too the government has fallen into the hands of a single individual. He is Reza Palevi. An army officer in 1921, he gradually rose to commanding importance and in 1925 made himself the crowned ruler of the state.

Like the Turkish dictator, he has sought to improve his country through the introduction of modern ways of living and through the exploitation of its industrial resources. The people of Iran are beginning to discard their native costumes for Western clothes. Education has been taken from the hands of the clergy, a Moslem sect, and placed under the direct supervision of the state. To reduce illiteracy among adults, the government has opened a number of night schools. Attendance by policemen and government clerks is compulsory. Several years ago, Reza Palevi approved the foundation of a national university and though its educational program

is necessarily limited, it is expected to go a long way in educating citizens.

Soviet Russia: Belying earlier reports that Moscow had brought to a close its campaign against internal enemies is the renewal of a purge directed this time against the Soviet's diplomatic ranks. Within recent weeks a number of diplomatic representatives have been recalled from their posts and later arrested. But two of those who had the misfortune to fall under the Kremlin's displeasure refused to return to Russia. They resigned their jobs, sought refuge in countries unfriendly to Moscow, and issued public statements denouncing the Stalin dictatorship.

Political circles in Europe confess their bewilderment with this resumption of the purge. With the general European situation so unstable, they point out, the Russian government is doing itself endless harm by making it appear that even its highest officials are prepared to betray it. This can result only in a loss of prestige, it is said, which may ultimately cost Moscow whatever alliances it may still have. Particularly in France is public opinion growing increasingly cool toward Russia; and should France, at the behest of England, give up her Soviet pact, the Russian government would find itself isolated.

Japan: The unofficial boycott against Japanese goods in the United States is beginning to take effect. While complete figures bearing on the trend of Japanese foreign trade are not yet available, it is noteworthy that exports to the United States in the closing months of 1937 fell

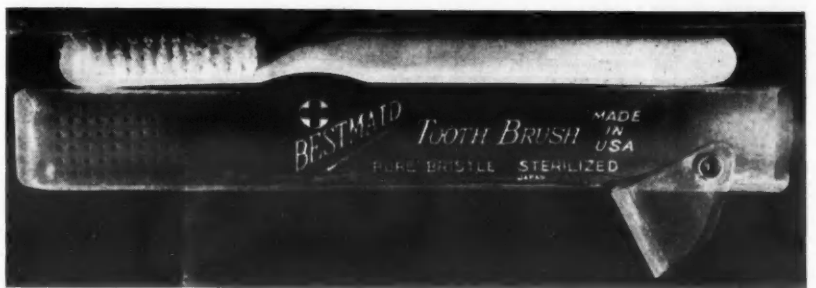
reserve held by Japan is rapidly dwindling.

Logical as this reasoning may be, it remains to be seen whether the exhaustion of Japan's gold reserves will result in her economic paralysis. Germany has for some time now had practically no reserve. Yet despite the predictions of expert observers, her internal economy has not cracked. Through diverse exchange manipulations, which Tokio too is now planning to use, Berlin has managed to secure a thriving foreign trade.

Where the boycott is likely to have the most effect is in creating dissatisfaction among the mass of Japanese workers. Japanese silk and a large part of her export manufactures are produced in thousands of small shops and in homes. Should the workers in these shops be thrown into the labor market, already glutted with young men and women from rural areas, they will create a serious problem.

Spain: The Spanish loyalist government is now seeking to stabilize commerce and industry within the territory it controls. During the early days of the war, extremist factions seized various industries and properties and placed them in the control of workers' committees. This was opposed by the more moderate leaders of the government. But in the confusion of the war, they found that their authority was often ineffective. And not to permit factional strife to breach the loyalist union, they were forced in many cases to give tacit approval to acts they did not sanction.

However, the government is now issuing a series of decrees looking toward the return of these properties to their former owners. For the time being, control is



"MADE IN USA," A TOWN IN JAPAN

As a means of counteracting the effects of foreign boycotts on their goods, the Japanese manufacture some of their products in a town which they have renamed "USA." The word "Japan" appears on the container but it may easily pass unnoticed.

sharply. That Japanese industrialists genuinely fear the results of the boycott movement may be seen in the devices they employ to counteract it.

There are economic experts who hold that the increasing pressure on Japan's economy spells ultimate financial disaster. They point out that Japan has been able to build up her military machine through the purchase of iron and steel in exchange for silk and manufactured articles. But imports are now far in excess of exports and the boycott movement, if it should be continued, would further widen the gap between what she must buy and what she can sell. The excess imports, it is argued, can be paid for only in gold, of which the

being taken out of the hands of the workers and placed in the hands of the government. But, should the loyalists be victorious, it is their intention ultimately to give these properties to those who held them before the outbreak of the war.

Of course, certain industries will doubtless remain permanently under government ownership. This is probably the case with all public utilities. But the experience, during the last 18 months, of government ownership of such enterprises as the Barcelona surface car system has been reassuring. Far from being harmful, government ownership has made possible the reduction of fares and an increase in wages for workers.

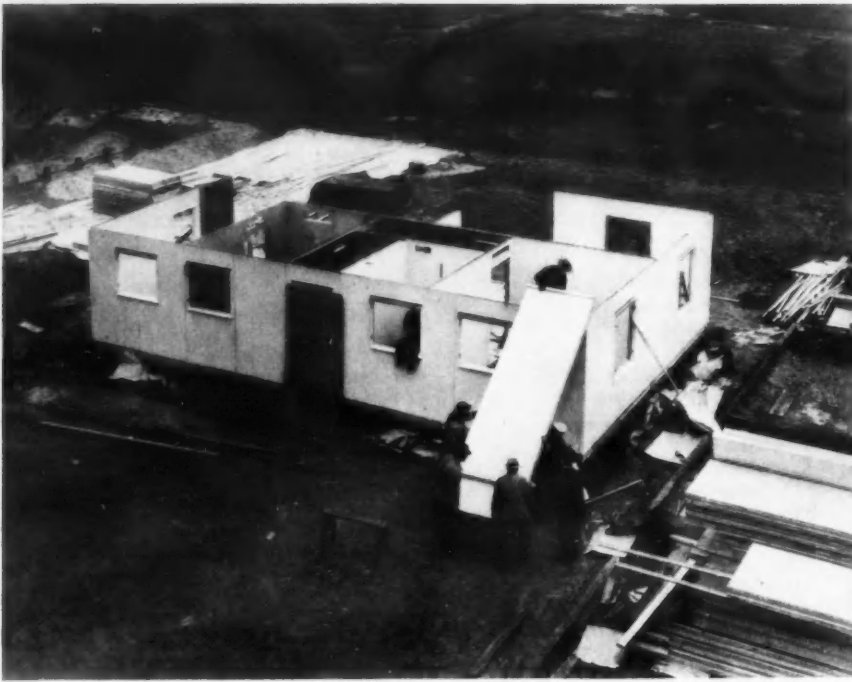


"WHY MOTHER GETS GRAY"

HERBLOCK IN DANVILLE (ILL.) COMMERCIAL NEWS

The Week in the

What the American People



PREFABRICATED IN WOOD

The Forest Products Laboratory of the U. S. Forest Service is experimenting with frameless wooden houses to meet the need for modern, low-cost housing.

U. S. FOREST SERVICE

Senate Filibuster

Not so very much has been done in Washington this month. One very important piece of legislation, the farm bill, was passed and signed by the President. But the Senate has been tied up by the filibuster over Senator Wagner's antilynching bill and has given consideration to little else.

This bill, which would give the federal government authority to act in cases of lynchings, is supported by a majority in the Senate and would pass if it came to a vote. But a determined minority of members is preventing a vote. Debate in the Senate is unlimited unless a limit is set by a two-thirds vote, and more than a third of the members oppose a rule which would limit discussion in this case. So the opponents of the measure get the floor and talk and talk. When one wears out, another takes the floor and the debate goes on endlessly.



SENATOR WAGNER

A filibuster is, of course, a violation of the principle of majority rule. There seems to be little excuse for it. Under a democratic system of government the majority should prevail. Since, however, the Senate refuses to change its rules so as to permit a majority to close debate and vote upon a pending measure, it seems a useless waste of time for the majority to continue to keep the antilynching bill before the Senate when there is so little hope of bringing it to a vote. Both the advocates and the opponents of the measure are losing in public respect. The patience of the country is being exhausted by the failure of the Senate to consider the important problems to which it should give attention.

President and Prices

The rise or fall of prices affects the people of the nation deeply. Hence, statements concerning prices by the President have been watched closely. He has said at times that prices were too low. At other times he has said they were too high. Last week he clarified his position somewhat by saying that certain prices are too low and that others are too high.

Mr. Roosevelt illustrated his statement through the use of a chart which showed price changes of 784 principal commodities during recent years. The price at which each commodity sold in 1926 was taken as 100, then as the price went up or down in later years, a line indicating the extent of the change was shown on the chart. The average of all the commodity prices, starting at 100 in 1926, stood at 98 in 1928. By 1933, the average price level had fallen to 60. This means that average prices were 40 per cent lower in 1933 than in 1926. At present the average price of com-

modities is at 80, or to use the usual expression, the index figure for commodities in general is 80.

But all prices have not moved in the same way. Many kinds of goods are produced by monopolies, or by manufacturers who practically control the market and can keep prices up even when times are bad and the demand is falling off. If there is sharp competition in an industry, producers must cut prices when the demand falls off. If they do not, some competitor will do so and get the business. But where competition has been squeezed out, the producer can refuse to cut his prices. This happened during the depression in many industries. President Roosevelt pointed to 190 commodities shown on the chart which fell very little in price from 1928 to 1933—only 10 per cent in fact. Now these prices are back to where they were in 1928. These are the prices which the President considers too high.

Mr. Roosevelt pointed to an equal number of commodities, 189, the prices of which, on the average, fell from 88 in 1928 to 36 in 1933. They have risen now to but 60. These are prices in industries, such as agriculture, where competition is keen, and they are the ones which the President thinks are too low.

But what can the government do about prices which are too high or too low? Of course, it might undertake to fix prices, but general price fixing is not proposed at this time. There are a number of other things which may be done, however. Last spring, for example, the President said that certain materials, such as copper, were too high. He recommended that the government check public works which called for such materials. This would reduce the demand and perhaps force a cut in prices. In the case of agricultural products, on the other hand, the government, through the new farm bill, helps farmers to hold their crops until they can obtain fair prices. These are but a few of the measures the government may take to influence prices.

Acts by the government to affect prices are opposed by many people who hold that such

practices do more harm than good. It is argued that efforts of the President last spring to reduce certain prices helped bring on the business recession. It is argued that prices should be allowed to take their natural course. The controversy over price control is one of the outstanding points of difference between the Roosevelt administration and business leaders.

Low-Cost Houses

Cheaper houses are needed to relieve the serious housing shortage which is facing the nation, housing experts say. The United States Forest Service has devised a frameless house, built entirely of wooden panels, which it believes is one answer to the demand for cheaper homes. The panels are constructed of plywood, glue-welded to light frames, in four-foot strips. They can be turned out by a factory as rapidly as automobiles are made, it is claimed, and a house can be assembled in two or three days. The Forest Service says that a four-room house with bath and utility room, electric wiring and refrigerator, plumbing and a heating plant, should cost between \$2,000 and \$3,000.

The house may have a flat or pitched roof, but there are no beams, rafters, studdings, or stringers. The panels, although only three inches thick, are said to have more strength than most frame construction. Tests have shown that the panels have a great deal of resistance to moisture and fire, and that a house built of them should last as long as the average frame building.

Radio Newspaper

Recent demonstrations of the radio newspaper show that the time may be near when everyone will have his newspaper printed on the radio in his own home. Merely by putting a facsimile attachment on an ordinary radio, the listener will convert his set into a miniature printing press capable of picking news and pictures from the air and putting them down in black and white. To broadcast the material, the printed page is attached to a

from the air and record them on a roll of paper which is attached to the cabinet. It is predicted that these sets can soon be sold at a very low cost, or even built in the cabinets of new radios. Although the speed of the process is now relatively slow, it can be increased until it will be possible to have a large-sized newspaper turned out by this method. The effect on our present-day newspaper is unpredictable, because the newspapers themselves may control the new method of broad-



IMMORTAL GRID COACH

This portrait of the late Knute Rockne, Notre Dame's great football coach, was painted by a nun at the Longwood Academy near Chicago. It was presented to a Catholic youth organization.

casting. However, it is probable that there will be a remarkable change in the distribution of news, with the further possibility that whole books and magazines can be sent to homes through these devices.

Fishing Dispute

Grave fears for the future of the Alaskan fishing industry have caused Congress to con-



transmitting machine in the radio studio. By means of a tiny bulb, called the "scanning light," the white and black parts of the newspaper are flashed to a photoelectric cell. This cell then transforms the impression into electric impulses that go out over the air to be picked up by receiving sets in homes.

The listener will turn on his radio at night before going to bed. Between one and six a. m. his set will pick up the newspaper flashes

sider legislation which would restrict Japanese fishermen in American waters. Anthony J. Dimond, Alaska's delegate to Congress, believes that unless such curbs are set up, the entire salmon fishing industry will be ruined within a few years. This would mean the loss of an annual income of approximately \$40,000,000 which the industry produces, as well as the unemployment of thousands of workers.

Supporters of the legislation say that floating Japanese canneries have been operating near the Alaskan coast, catching the salmon in nets which are between one and three miles long. The Japanese fish during the spawning season, when the salmon should be given a chance to provide for hatching. Furthermore, they catch whole schools of fish, leaving none to replenish the waters. The bill would attempt to prevent this by defining a large area off the coast in which conservation laws of the United States would be enforced. In this region, extending some hundreds of miles at sea, any Japanese fishing boats caught taking salmon contrary to the conservation laws would be confiscated. Obviously any such action as this, if adopted, might have serious international implications. It could easily involve us in trouble with the Japanese government. However, those who favor the legislation say that if it is not enacted, private



STREAMLINED DIESELS

Five streamlined trains, the nucleus of what will be the largest group of modern trains in operation in the world. They are to be added to the Santa Fe Railroad's equipment.

WIDE WORLD

the United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

warfare is likely to ensue in the future between American and Japanese fishermen and that this may cause friction. They also say that any effort to conserve the supply of salmon through a treaty with Japan would prove futile.

Teaching by Radio

Radio broadcasts may soon take a large place in the classrooms of our nation's schools.



THE RADIO NEWSPAPER

This new product of science is demonstrated by the inventor of one system of transmission, Charles J. Young. Facsimile transmission by radio is ready for commercial use, its sponsors say.

This possibility is foreseen as the result of a recent action of the Federal Communications Commission which set aside 25 broadcast channels for the use of nonprofit, educational radio stations. The programs on these stations must be primarily of an educational character; there can be no sponsored or commercial programs. The stations which will use the 25 assignments will be named later.

This step came as a result of a campaign

relief rolls during the next four months. This increase, they feel, will provide relief for persons who are losing their jobs during the present decline of employment.

Many objections were raised to an alien amendment which the House added to the bill. This provision prohibits the WPA from hiring an alien unless he can prove that he has filed his first naturalization papers, or that he has served in our armed forces during the World War or the Spanish-American War. However, the appropriations committee of the Senate ruled out this amendment. Final action on the measure will be taken when both houses have ironed out these differences.

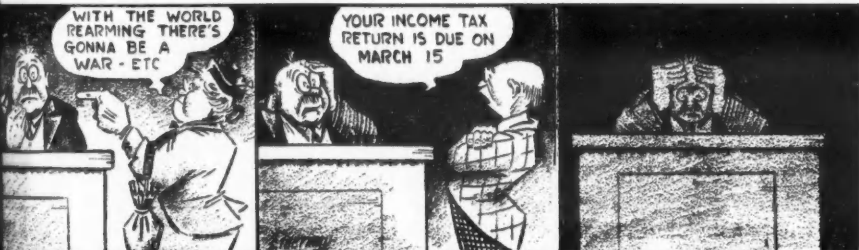
Teapot Tempest

"The Star Spangled Banner" is a difficult song for the average person to sing. It ranges over an octave and a fifth, which is too much for most untrained singers. Vincent Lopez, leader of a popular dance orchestra, has changed the tune slightly to put it within reach of more voices. Other musicians have suggested changes in the song; some favor lowering the high spots, while others want to bolster the low notes. Mr. Lopez drops the pitch on "glare" and "free," which are usually shrieked, he says.

Mr. Lopez' suggestion has aroused considerable discussion. Many people believe his idea is a good one. However, some say that he has no business meddling with the national anthem. Others agree that it might be well to make the song more singable, but they do not believe that the American people can be taught new tricks so easily.

Superior Children

Public School 500 in New York City has been established as an experiment in the training of superior children. It has only 50 students, from eight to 11 years old, but they were selected as the most intelligent among New York's thousands of that age. They do their regular classwork in the mornings. The afternoons are devoted to projects of their



ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

which educators have carried on for several years to get more recognition on the air waves for education in comparison with the time which is used for commercial amusement. According to Dr. John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, the next step will be to find some way to get classrooms equipped with the proper type of receiving sets so students will be able to get the benefit of the programs. It is predicted that when the practice becomes widespread, there will be stations over the entire nation devoted to broadcasting these programs. The programs will be sent at a time when they can best be used by the classes in the area which a station is serving. A few schools are already equipped with receiving sets. It is expected that a growing number will buy them.

Funds for Relief

President Roosevelt's request to Congress for an additional appropriation of \$250,000,000, which is to be used for WPA relief, will probably be granted. A measure appropriating this amount has passed the House by a large majority. WPA officials estimate that this sum is necessary, in addition to the billion and a half which was supposed to last from July 1937 to July 1938. It will enable them to add an average of 750,000 persons per month to the

own choosing. One boy specializes in map-making. Others study science, current history, economics, music, or literature. They are given guidance and assistance, but most of their work depends entirely on their own initiative. They will graduate from high school at an average age, but, school officials say, most of them will have an education which will compare favorably with that of college graduates.



HOMES OF PROSPEROUS BASQUES OUTSIDE BIARRITZ, FRANCE
(From an illustration in "The Face of France")



BISCAYNE BAY, MIAMI, FLORIDA

(From an illustration in "U. S. One," by the Federal Writers Project of WPA)

NEW BOOKS

THERE is little disposition on the part of anyone to envy the French statesmen who must solve the problems of their country. Beset with labor strikes, social unrest, and an unsettled financial situation, they have undergone one change after another in the formation of cabinets. While these domestic difficulties are harassing them, they also must keep a wary eye on Germany, their next-door neighbor. They are apprehensive of what tomorrow may bring in the spread of fascism and the possible outbreak of war. All this leads one to wonder whether "The Face of France" (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, \$2.50) might portray a countenance that is lined with worry and fear.

However, Harry J. Greenwall, the author, is little concerned with these troubles. He describes the France which he saw on a tour over almost every inch of the country during the four seasons. The wealth of scenery which is there to delight the tourist makes France a vacation spot for every type of taste. The climber will go to some of her mountains—the Alps, Mont Blanc, the Jura Mountains, or the Pyrenees. Others will find pleasure at the seashore, either on the Mediterranean or the Atlantic. None will wish to miss the wooded highlands, the hills of Normandy, and the picturesque cliffs of Brittany. Mr. Greenwall describes spots in all these places. Happily, he did not spend all his time in the rural areas, but visited the villages and cities. Though the face of France may show its worries at times, it is capable of producing many intriguing variations. Mr. Greenwall overlooked none of them.

JAMES SUTHERLAND'S "Defoe" (Philadelphia: Lippincott, \$3.50) recalls a travel adventure that was published in April 1719, "The Life and Strange Surprising Ad-

ventures of Robinson Crusoe." When Daniel Defoe was about 60 years old, he wrote this story that is now so familiar. Although there have been various attempts to discover where he obtained the material for the tale, most of us only remember how the old York mariner lived for many years on an uninhabited island near the coast of America. Stranded by shipwreck, he had an adventurous life that appealed to the reader's sense of heroism and hardiness.

Sutherland writes the biography of this man who imagined Crusoe's experiences. In many ways, Defoe lived as exciting a life as did his well-known fictional character. When he was yet a boy, he survived a terrible plague in England and witnessed the great fire that devastated London. During the 70 years of his life, he was a merchant, pamphleteer, poet, manufacturer of bricks and tiles, political spy, journalist, the confidential adviser of famous statesmen, and the friend of a king. He also took part in an armed rebellion, spent several months in prison, and stood in the pillory. In business, he did not fare well; twice he was bankrupt. His writing covered a period of 40 years. Everyone who has enjoyed reading about Robinson Crusoe will find interest in this story. Mr. Sutherland has done an excellent piece of work in bringing to life this man whose stories have entertained so many. The book is well written and quite readable.



DANIEL DEFOE

MOTORISTS who are planning at any time to travel along the Atlantic seaboard over U. S. Highway One will find a wealth of information and guidance in "U. S. One" (New York: Modern Age Books, 95 cents). This handy volume, which can easily be tucked into the dashboard compartment of a car, is a mile-by-mile description of this important route and most of the short roads branching from it. It was compiled by workers of the Federal Writers' Project of the WPA as a part of the American Guide Series. The information was collected in each of the states through which the highway runs, and then checked and edited in Washington. It is complete in every respect.


The highway reaches from Fort Kent, Maine, to Key West, Florida. Along it lie many places of historical interest, as well as important centers of shipping, industry, and government. Because some will use the guide for only a part of the distance, the material has been divided by states and shorter sections. Mileages are given for each stop on the route. As a special aid to those who like to sample the characteristic foods of the regions which they visit, a list of these is given for each state.—J. H. A.

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

SELDOM in the history of American politics has the party situation been more confused than it is at the present time. The Democratic party, which a little more than a year ago won such a smashing victory at the polls, is today split wide open, with prominent members in and out of Congress in open rebellion against the leadership of the President. Nor is the situation in the Republican party any better. There is no definite leadership, no consistent program, and the party is floundering on a sea of uncertainty, with no clearly indicated future course in sight. And outside the two major parties, there are undercurrents of political activity of one kind or another—movements for third parties, for radical changes in the two major parties, for political action of every imaginable kind.



DAVID S. MUZZEY

A black and white portrait of David S. Muzzey, a man with dark hair, a mustache, and a goatee, wearing a suit and tie. He is looking slightly to the right of the camera.

DAVID S. MUZZEY

The conflict between the Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans was basic. The former represented the business and financial interests of the day; they were the conservatives. They believed in a strong central government. They favored the national bank, the tariff, and other policies which would insure the development of a flourishing American industry. The Jeffersonian party, on the other hand, represented the interests of the farmers, small shopkeepers, and the workers. They were opposed to a strong central government and objected to most of the policies advocated by the Hamiltonians.

With the election of 1800, it appeared that the Hamiltonian system had been completely routed. The Federalists were, it is true, dealt a blow from which they never recovered, and for almost a quarter of a century the United States had what amounted to one-party government. Through the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, there was little effective opposition to the Republican party. It was not until the election of 1824 that there appeared the division which had prevailed during the early days of the republic.

By 1824, men with views opposed to those of the Jeffersonian party broke away and attempted to win political control of the government. Fundamental sectional and economic clashes were apparent in that election. The New England states nominated John Quincy Adams, who advocated a program similar in fundamentals to that of the earlier Federalists. The center of the philosophy was a strong central government and

the establishment of a high protective tariff, sponsorship of a national bank, internal improvements, and so on.

Following this election, the followers of Adams and Henry Clay formed what was known as the National Republican party, and the Jeffersonian tradition was continued by Andrew Jackson, the party name now being changed to the Democratic. By 1832, the cleavage had become even more pronounced and the Whig party, emerging from the National Republican, first entered the field in the presidential election of that year.

But the record of the Whigs was far from brilliant. Carrying forward the Federalist tradition, they were unable to win popular support, and when they were victorious at the polls, they had to steal the Democrats' thunder and declare that they represented the interests of the great masses of people. Many of the more practical-minded deserted to the Democratic party, feeling that their best chance of achieving their ends lay in controlling the machinery of the party which already had a large popular following. Thus by the time of the Civil War, the Whig party was already dead and the present Republican party had appeared on the scene.

The post-Civil-War history of the parties is all too familiar to require repetition. The Republican party, founded in 1854, won its first national election in 1860 because of a number of factors. The Democratic party itself was split over the slavery issue—in itself a gain for the Republicans, which, coupled with the fact that it was able to round up most of the antislavery elements in the North, gave it control of the national government—a control it did not lose until 1884, when Grover Cleveland was elected to the presidency.

With few relatively unimportant exceptions, the two-party system has governed American politics from the beginning. Third parties there have been, but none has yet been sufficiently strong to win a national election. The farmer and labor agitation during the latter half of the last century led to the formation of several parties, such as the Populist, which called for long-needed reforms. In 1912, the Republican party itself was split between the conservative and the progressive elements. But practical-minded persons have realized that they must achieve their ends through the machinery of the two major parties. For that reason, control has frequently shifted from the conservative to the liberal wings and back again. Today both parties are torn asunder by such internal conflicts—which makes the future of the parties entirely unpredictable.



THE POPULIST PARTY
(From a cartoon in "Judge" by Gillam in 1891)



THE HITCH HIKER'S PARADISE
CARGILL IN CONNELLSVILLE (PA.) DAILY COURIER

Test Your Emotions

Do you ever try to draw a distinction between your feelings or emotions and your opinions? Do you, in particular, try to figure out whether your attachment to some political party is a matter of opinion or feeling? Here are a few questions which you may think over carefully. You need not answer them publicly unless you care to. Your purpose in thinking about them is merely to help you analyze yourself and to determine how thoughtful and logical your political attitudes may be.

1. Which political party do you prefer?
2. How long have you preferred or favored this party? Was there ever a time when you really chose it as the party of your choice, or have you favored it for as long a time as you can remember?
3. Can you figure out the reasons why you probably favor this party, rather than any others? Did you first begin to favor and prefer it because you compared the things it stood for with the things other parties stood for? Did you choose it after weighing evidence for and against it, or was your choice at the outset merely a matter of feeling?
4. Have you ever changed your preference?
5. Have you ever made a systematic and sustained effort to understand what some other party stands for? Have you tried to understand how members of some other party probably feel about it?

Frequently people find themselves assuming that some particular position is the right one; for example, that the party which they favor is right on public problems. Then when they study a public problem, they do it with the purpose of proving that the stand which their party takes on it is the right one. They assume that a certain conclusion is true, and then all the work they do on it is merely an effort to prove that their original conclusion is correct. This process of reasoning is called "rationalization." The meaning of the term comes from the fact that people try to show that a conclusion at which they arrive merely as a matter of feeling or emotion is really a rational position.

One never gets very far in the search for truth and wisdom by rationalizing, because he merely develops arguments in favor of a position which he had already taken before he was familiar with the arguments. His attitude is determined, not rationally, but through emotion.

A better plan, of course, is for one to adopt an objective attitude; that is, to examine all the facts he can acquire about

a situation or a problem without determining in advance what his conclusions shall be. If, for example, one is trying to determine whether the position on a certain point taken by the Democratic or Republican party is the better one, he may study the problem without caring whether his conclusions will sustain the Democratic or the Republican position. He merely wants to know what the facts are and where truth is. It is very hard for anyone to adopt this latter form of reasoning. Only one with a well-trained mind can do it. The average person resorts to "rationalization" practically every time he studies a public problem. That is one reason why we make so little progress in our political thinking.

1. Who is chancellor of Austria?
2. True or False: A filibuster is preventing the antilynching bill from coming to a vote in the House of Representatives.
3. What prominent Republican is willing to give up the name of his party and help form a new party?
4. Where has trouble developed over salmon fishing?

1. Do you think that civilization has declined since 1914? Why or why not?
2. Do you agree with Elmer Davis concerning the best means of keeping out of war? Explain your position.
3. Describe the chief point of conflict between Vandenberg Republicans and Roosevelt Democrats, showing that you really understand the position of each. Then, after showing that you understand each, tell which side you favor and why.
4. What, if anything, should the government do about prices?
5. If you were an Englishman, would you want your government to join with France in trying to prevent the absorption of Austria by Germany?

Do you know the meaning of the italicized words in the following sentences? Seeds *germinate* in the spring. Many canyons developed from small *fissures*. Americans find no appeal in the *grandiloquent* speeches made by foreign dictators. He spoke in the *idiom* of the New England countryside. Some psychologists say that everyone should check on himself through a process of *introspection*. A first-aid kit should contain *medicated* gauze. The student who worked merely to make grades found his studies *onerous*.

Will We Lose The Next War?

If there is another world war, will it bring about the collapse of civilization? Has civilization declined since the last world war, and is the decline still continuing?

How would we be affected if Germany, Italy, and Japan were to win a war against the democracies? Would we be obliged to fight them later?

Would we be worse off than we now are if war should come, if we should stay out, and if the democracies, without our help, should win?

How much might we expect to gain or lose if we should participate in another world war?

If we should decide to stay out of war, would we be obliged to restrain our commerce with the belligerents in such a way as to cause us serious loss?

These are questions raised by Elmer Davis in a very thoughtful article in the March *Harpers*. Not only does Mr. Davis raise them, but he undertakes to answer them. He does not argue for anything; he just tries to figure out, as he says, which of the policies we might pursue would, from the standpoint of national interest, be more expensive and dangerous. Here are a few of his conclusions:

(1) Another world war would not destroy civilization, but it would cause terrific losses to every country in the world, whether the country participated in the war or not. "Europe will be left frightfully weakened and impoverished; but the total material collapse of civilization is not to be expected this time." But Mr. Davis continues with this very significant comment:

Spiritually and morally, civilization collapsed on August 1, 1914—the civilization in which people now middle-aged grew up, a culture which with all its shortcomings did give more satisfaction to more people than any other yet evolved. Young people cannot realize how the world has been coarsened and barbarized since 1914; they may feel the loss of the security into which their parents were born but they cannot appreciate how much else has been lost; even we who once had it cannot recall it now without an effort. But the collapse of a great culture is a long process; it took the Roman world four or five centuries to hit bottom. Since 1914 we have slipped back as far perhaps as the Romans slipped between the Antonine age and the days of Alexander Severus. It is a long way; but the Rome of Alexander would have looked like paradise to the Romans who lived under Constantine—and still they kept on slipping. So may we. The next war might shock the human race into sanity; it is more likely to leave all nations coarsened and barbarized still further, with more wars to come. The Greeks once fought a war to end war and liberate oppressed nationalities; it only led to a new war, the defeated powers combining with those of the victorious coalition who had been short-changed at the peace conference; and that led to another war, and another, until the qualities that had made the Greeks great completely disappeared.

(2) If the fascist nations win the war, it is not probable that they would continue their expansion so as necessarily to come into conflict with us. They probably would not soon attack Latin America. It is more likely that, having conquered England and France, they would fight among themselves. Italy and Germany would probably fight for supremacy. A fascist victory might encourage the development of fascism in America, but such a development is not inevitable.

A fascist victory would probably mean, however, that Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland, countries where civilization is today at its best, would probably be conquered, impoverished, and perhaps, to a certain extent, barbarized.

(3) If the democracies win, with or without our help, there is no reason to think that peace will be permanent. We and the other democracies were not wise enough to establish the foundations of a permanent peace in 1919, and probably would not be after going through the hell and terror of another war.

(4) If we and the other democratic nations should try to check the fascist powers by imposing economic sanctions against them, the policy would probably lead to war.

(5) If Europe continues to fight, America, standing aloof from the wars of the other nations, could not maintain a fine and progressive civilization, but would get along better than if she mixed into the wars.

(6) If we should decide to keep out of the next war, our only chance to do so would be in imposing drastic restrictions upon our trade with the warring nations. These restrictions would hurt business in America terribly, and they could be maintained only by giving the President far-reaching powers over industry—powers so great as to make the present controls look like complete freedom.

(7) All things considered, there is no escaping the conclusion that if there is another big war all will suffer—all will lose. But America will suffer less by staying out than by going in, even though our remaining aloof might permit fascist victory.

(8) Another big war is probable, though it may possibly be avoided.

Such is the analysis which this critical writer makes of the present international situation. It is not a pleasant picture which he draws. If his conclusions are correct, the only hope for progress in civilization lies in the possibility that peace among the major powers may somehow be maintained.

How to Keep Out of War

If we decide to keep out of war, should one break out in Europe, we would be obliged to plan very carefully a trade policy which would serve that end. Particularly interesting, therefore, is Mr. Davis' analysis of the best means of being drawn in.

It will be no easy matter he thinks, to stay out. If we undertake to trade freely with the belligerents, as we did during the last war, two things will happen (as indeed they happened before):

(a) We will at the outset develop a very heavy trade with certain of the belligerents and some of our industries here will make a great deal of money out of that trade. These industries will develop and expand, only to collapse when the war trade ceases. This will make our whole economic system unstable and may throw us into depression. Furthermore, the people who are profiting by the war trade will insist upon protecting that trade, even though it gets us into war.

(b) Our insistence upon trading freely with the belligerents will lead to conflicts as certain of the belligerents try to stop the trade, and this will get us into war.

If, hoping to keep out of war, we place an embargo on war supplies to all belligerents, our foreign commerce will be practically wiped out, depression will come, and there will be a widespread demand that we go to war to save our commerce. We may adopt the cash-and-carry plan, allowing nations to buy our goods if they can pay cash and carry them away in their own ships. At the same time, we may avoid a war boom in any industry by giving the government power to permit an amount of trade with each belligerent equal only to the trade which was carried on with it during peacetime. This would prevent a war boom, but would bring other problems. In order to carry out the plan, the government would have to control production, decide what kind of goods could be exported and which could not, how much each company might export, and so on. It would be obliged practically to control production throughout the nation.

It is not necessary, of course, that anyone accept these conclusions which have been reached by the writer in *Harpers*. It is highly desirable, however, that the problems he raises be given careful consideration. We should think out in advance the courses which should be pursued in case a European war breaks out. The only way we can come to decisions about such things is to ponder over the most probable consequences of the different courses which might be followed.



"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT—" FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Case of Faulty Reasoning

A Radio Commentator Discusses the Relief Problem

A prominent radio commentator and newspaper columnist discussed an aspect of the relief situation in his column recently. He said that 500,000 children in New York City alone were in families which were on relief. These children were growing up without seeing their parents working. They were not becoming acquainted with initiative or self-help. They were used to seeing their parents cared for by the state.

The columnist considered this a dangerous situation. Would it not encourage the children to grow up expecting to be cared for by society? Would it not lead to their pauperization?

The problem presented here is, indeed, a serious one. No one can deny it. But the writer is guilty of a very common form of sophistry. He confuses the symptoms of a thing for the thing itself. He writes as if the dangerous fact were the fact that so many people were on relief. Is it not true, however, that the dangerous fact is the fact that they are without work and helpless? It is an alarming thing that there is no place in our industrial society for about a sixth of our workers; that they are cast adrift, with no means of support. It is a bad thing for their children to see them receiving help, but it would be a worse thing for them to be seen hungry, starving, and for the children to be in actual physical want. Given the fact that there is no work for them, it is far better that their children should see them receiving relief than without it. The bad thing is not relief but the fact that it is necessary.

Of course, if all these thousands of people on relief were there because they wanted to be, the case would be different. If they were receiving relief because they preferred it to jobs, then the bad fact would be the fact of relief. No doubt there are people, a good many of them, who do prefer relief. The fact remains and cannot be disputed, however, that there are more workers in the country than there are jobs. Every employer who wants help can get it. Employers, anxious to employ more workers, are not having trouble finding help. Yet, after all the employers have on their payrolls all the workers they want or can use, 10 or 12 million workers remain out of jobs.

These idle millions must either (a) suffer acute distress and perhaps starvation, or (b) receive private charity, or (c) receive relief from city or county governments, or (d) receive relief from the federal government. One of these things must happen until the job situation improves.

Under these circumstances, one who laments concerning the effects of relief, and who tries to make the giving of relief unpopular, is seeing only one side of the picture. He is confusing causes and effects.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Schuschnigg (shoo'-shneck), Iran (ee-rah'n'), Buenos Aires (bway'-nos-o as in go-i'-rays-i as in ice), Roberto Ortiz (ro-bair'to or'tees), Mustafa Kemal (moos'tah-fah. kay'mahl), Reza Palevi (ray'-zah, pah-lay'vee), Drang Nach Osten (drahng'-nock' os'ten—o as in go), Franz von Papen (frahns' fon' pah'pen).



WAR

(From the jacket design by Lyle Justis for an edition of "Toward the Flame," war memoirs by Hervey Allen, Farrar and Rinehart.)

Political Confusion

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

could save it by partially altering its identity, I also would do that. But I would save the American system."

New Alignments

It is apparent, therefore, that not only are we at the threshold of a congressional campaign but that we may be entering upon a period of new party alignments, with old parties passing from the picture or changing character. The present period of uncertainty is, therefore, one full of dramatic interest to the student of American politics.

But what is the nature of the great crisis of which Senator Vandenberg speaks? What is the central issue which appears so important as to threaten a realignment of parties? Here is the situation as the Michigan senator sees it:

The nation has been getting along very well through its history under what may

tion," said the senator, "we operate 60 per cent of the world's telephone and telegraph facilities, 33 per cent of the railroads, and 80 per cent of the motor cars. We consume 48 per cent of the world's coffee, 53 per cent of its tin, 56 per cent of its rubber, 21 per cent of its sugar, 72 per cent of its silk, 36 per cent of its coal, 42 per cent of its iron, 47 per cent of its copper, 69 per cent of its petroleum. We produce 70 per cent of its oil, 60 per cent of its wheat and cotton, 50 per cent of its copper and iron, 40 per cent of its lead and coal. We have two-thirds of civilization's banking resources and its gold. We have a purchasing power greater than that of 500 million Europeans, or of a billion Asiatics. We have the highest wage scales, the shortest working hours, and the greatest percentage of home ownership on earth. When we move healthfully and confidently ahead, we have the greatest mass prosperity in human experience since time began." Now we come to the very heart of the issue between the Vandenberg Republicans and the Roosevelt Democrats. Senator Vandenberg believes that we can go ahead enjoying the success which we as a nation have enjoyed in the past if we continue the same governmental policies. Nothing of a drastic or a dangerous nature has happened to our economic system during recent years, he thinks. We have had our ups and downs, our periods of prosperity and of depression, but we have gone upward as the years have passed and will continue to go upward if the government stops meddling too much with things and leaves the businessmen, farmers, and workers alone, at least to the extent that it has done in the past.

New Deal Challenged

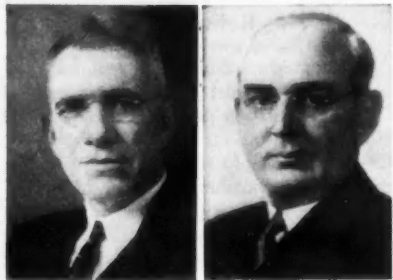
The New Deal challenges this conception of things. President Roosevelt feels that something of a very important nature has happened to challenge our upward sweep. He points to the fact that during recent years farmers are losing their homes and their farms and are becoming tenants. Mass unemployment is appearing in the cities. The national income is distributed so badly, he thinks, that the people are no longer able to buy what the factories and farms can produce; hence we have recurring periods of depression, each becoming worse than the former ones. Mechanical



THE TOO CANDID CAMERAMAN
TALBUT IN WASHINGTON NEWS



TALK ABOUT BUMPER CROPS!
MESSNER IN ROCHESTER TIMES-UNION



GEORGE D. AIKEN ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

be called the "American system." The government has done little in the direction of planning industrial developments. Business has been free. The government has not fixed wages or prices. It has forbidden certain practices in business which nearly all people consider to be harmful, but it has had relatively little to do with the practices of businessmen and farmers. Everyone has been free to go about with his work without much regulation, and when the government has acted, the state governments have occupied a very large sphere and the national government has not dominated the situation.

Past Accomplishments

Under this plan, Americans have got along well. "With 6 per cent of the world's area and 7 per cent of its popula-

Smiles

"The horse I was riding wanted to go one way, and I wanted to go another."

"Who won?"

"He tossed me for it." —SELECTED

A woman went to the bank and asked for a new checkbook.

"I've lost the one you gave me yesterday," she explained. "But it doesn't matter. I took the precaution of signing all the checks as soon as I got it. So, of course, it won't be of use to anyone else." —HUMORIST

Old Gentleman: "You're an honest lad, but it was a \$10 bill I lost, not 10 ones."

Small Boy: "I know, mister, it was a \$10 bill I picked up. But last time I found one, the man didn't have any change." —JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

A large dance was in progress, and one of the guests had departed from the floor to join some friends who were chatting along the side.

"By the way," he asked, "who is that long and lanky girl standing over there?"

"Hush!" whispered a friend, "She used to be long and lanky. But she's just inherited a hundred thousand dollars. She's tall and stately now." —SELECTED

A lady was having difficulty in teaching her new Chinese servant how to receive calling cards. The lady went outside and entered her own front door, giving the Chinaman a card.

The next day two lady callers presented their cards. Comparing them with that of his mistress, the Chinaman replied:

"Tickets no good. Can't come in." —LABOR

A man out for a walk threw a coin towards a blind man's cup. The coin missed and rolled along the pavement, but the man with the dark glasses quickly recovered it.

"But I thought you were blind," said the man who had thrown the coin.

"No, I am not the regular blind man, sir," he said. "I'm just taking his place while he's at the movies." —LABOR

The celebrated soprano was doing a solo when Bobbie said to his mother, referring to the conductor of the orchestra: "Why does that man hit at that woman with his stick?"

"He's not hitting her," replied the mother.

"Keep quiet!"

"Well then, what's she hollerin' for?" —EDUCATIONAL ADVANCE



THEY'RE RACING AGAINST TIME; TWO OF THE PAWNS HAVE DEVELOPED TERMITES.
RYAN IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

improvements are throwing men out of work faster than new jobs appear. All these things require that the government should become more active. It should undertake to raise the prices of farm products, even though production must be controlled in order to accomplish the purpose. Wages of the lowest paid workman must be raised by governmental action. Taxation should reduce swollen incomes. In other words, the government must interfere in order to check forces which have appeared in our economic life and which threaten the old prosperity to which we have been accustomed.

This question of the responsibility of the government for national prosperity is the central issue between the New Dealers and the conservatives. This is true of a large number of senators and representatives. They are kept in the Democratic party only by sentimental ties and by the hope that eventually they may throw overboard the Roosevelt leadership and restore the party to the position it occupied before Roosevelt came to power—a position not far removed from that of the Vandenberg Republicans.

On the other hand, there are Republicans who agree with the Roosevelt position regarding the responsibility of the government, but who think that Roosevelt is not active enough and courageous and clear-sighted enough to lead the country through the crisis. Governor Aiken calls for the abandonment of the traditional Republican position. He takes issue with the Vandenberg position. He calls upon Republicans to quit complaining that the President is a dictator or that he is too radical. He says we need strong federal government and strong leadership. "We must do something," he says, "for the workers and the farmers." He says that thus far the Republicans have not offered a leadership worthy of the name. He says that Lincoln, if living today, would be ashamed of the Republican leadership. He declares that President Roosevelt did a great work during the dark days early in his administration. Says the Republican governor of Vermont, speaking of the Democratic President, "He dispelled the clouds of inaction with the bright sun of leadership, but now that sun has dazzled him and confused him and led him far afield. Inspiring leadership has given way to fumbling futility."

State of Flux

Glenn Frank, the chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, is somewhat more moderate than either Vandenberg or Aiken. He agrees with Aiken that the New Deal offered inspiring leadership early in the Roosevelt administration, but he goes even further than the Vermonter does in complaining of the recent course of the Democratic administration, and the program which he recommends resembles very closely that advocated by the Michigan senator.

Senator Vandenberg appears at present to represent majority Republican opinion. It seems likely, therefore, that his interpretation of the national economic situation will be adopted by the Republicans. They will say that things will go along very well in the future as in the past if the gov-

ernment will stop meddling with prices and wages and crop controls, if it will reduce taxes upon the wealthy, should spend less money, balance the budget, and in general return to practices of the pre-Roosevelt days. This was the position the party took in 1936, and at that time it was soundly defeated. But whether such a program will be more popular under the changed business conditions is something which no one can predict with certainty.

President's Position

Though the President's future course seems at present to be somewhat uncertain, it seems fairly safe to guess that he will continue to stand for governmental action to hold up farm prices, to raise the wages of the lowest paid, to furnish work for the unemployed, and, in short, to carry forward more important items of the New Deal program. If he retains the control of the Democratic party, the conservative Democrats will have to decide whether to accept their defeat and remain within the party, form a third party, or to join with the conservative Republicans. It is, of course, conceivable that the conservative Democrats may overthrow the Roosevelt leadership, in which case the President will have to decide whether to accept the defeat of the New Deal or help form another party. That problem will not arise, however, until after this year's congressional election.

In watching the maneuvering of the parties for power and position, it is well to keep this fact in mind: A party, in order to be successful, cannot depend wholly upon expressing theories which seem to be sound. A party to win must have votes. It must appeal to certain sections of the population. In particular, it must have support either from farmers or workers, or both, in order to win elections, because these are the classes which have the most votes.

Majority Shifts

During the period from the Civil War to the depression of 1929, the Republicans had a majority of the votes of the farmers of the northern states. These votes, combined with those of a great majority of businessmen and of the professional classes, of shopkeepers and Negroes, and so on, gave them a national majority. The Democrats, during all this time, had a majority of the votes of workers, but this alone did not give them a national majority.

Since 1929, the Republicans have lost their majority among the farmers. They have lost a large section of the Negro vote. They do not have the votes of the unemployed. They do have an overwhelming majority of the business and professional classes in all sections except the South. Now, in order to come back as a majority party through the nation, they must win back a majority among the farmers or among the workers. It would also be highly beneficial to them if they could get back the Negro vote. On the other hand, the Democrats, to retain their supremacy, must hold a large share of the support they have won during recent years among the groups which formerly were Republican.